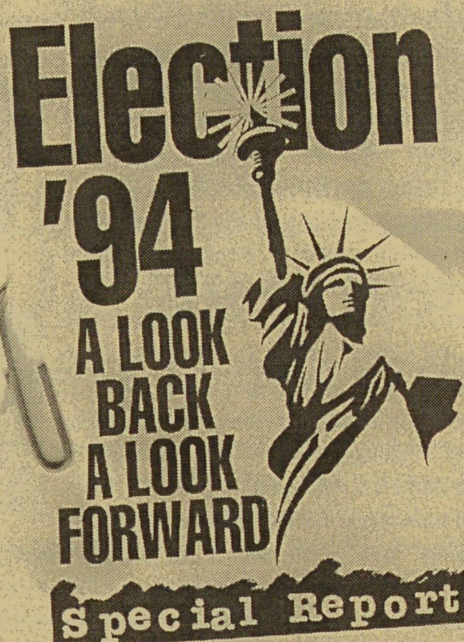


THE LIBERTARIAN Volunteer

Volume 5 ♦ Issue 5 ♦ November/December 1994

A newsletter for LP volunteers, activists, officers, candidates, & student organizers



Election '94: The good, the bad and the upbeat

Disappointed that we didn't elect a Libertarian Congressman or Senator this year? Distressed by lower than expected vote totals? Worried by the loss of two New Hampshire legislators?

Troubling news, to be sure. But did you know that . . .

➤ For the first time ever, 37 Libertarian candidates were endorsed by the NRA?

➤ Average Libertarian vote totals in New Hampshire actually *increased*?

➤ A record number of Libertarians were invited to

➤ CONTINUED ON PAGE 9

Membership push: LP announces Project Times|Two

The project's goal: To double LP membership to 20,000 by 1996

20,000 members: That's the goal of the Libertarian Party by the dawn of 1996.

The weapon: Project Times|Two.

The guiding philosophy: *Membership drives success.*

"If we increase Libertarian Party membership, we will get higher vote totals, we will get more people elected, and we will get more media attention," said LP Director of Communications Bill Winter. "Membership growth comes first. Success follows."

To achieve that goal, the National Libertarian Party has launched Project Times|Two, which Winter described as a cooperative effort between the National LP office and the state parties.

"The idea is to give our affiliate parties the tools to grow membership," he said.

Why is Project Times|Two necessary? "In late 1993, I called up every State Chair across the country and asked them: 'Is your state party engaged in any organized prospecting activities?'" recounted Winter. "Only 17 said yes. A disappointing 33 said no. Two-thirds of our states weren't trying to build membership. Project Times|Two will help change that."

Here is a list of commonly asked questions about Project Times|Two:

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**Working the polls
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From the Editor

'How did we do in the election?'

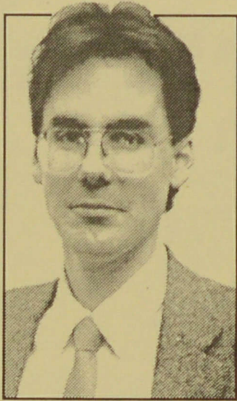
The calls started coming into the office bright and early on Wednesday morning, November 9th: "How did we do in the election?"

I had no quick and easy answer. We won some races. We lost some races. We gained some ground; we lost some ground. We did better than we expected in some areas. We did worse in others.

It's a complicated question — and that's why we're devoting most of this issue of the *Libertarian Volunteer* to answer it properly. You've already read most of the raw numbers in the new issue of *LP News*. Now, we want to take you behind the scenes — what it all means; what worked and didn't work; and what's next for the Libertarian Party.

After all, elections are the "box scores" for a political party; they tell us whether we're winning or losing. Like athletes viewing game films to see which plays resulted in scores and which resulted in turnovers, Libertarians have an obligation to carefully study our elections results. That's the only way we can build on our strengths — and eliminate our weaknesses.

So, hopefully you'll have an answer when you're asked, "How did we do in the election?" We *learned* from it.



Bill Winter, Editor

From the National Director

Election '94 & the Libertarian future

Did you have the feeling after the election that maybe the Republicans really intend to live up to their limited government rhetoric?

I sure did. But then came a crucial moment —

I was watching a C-SPAN panel discussion put on by the Project for the Republican Future. David Frum, the author of *Dead Right*, was talking about how you can't just prune government programs — you have to *dynamite them!* Because otherwise their seedlings grow back. And I was thinking, "Yeah, yeah, that's it exactly. They've finally got it."

But then someone from the audience asked a devastating question: Which *specific* programs would you dynamite?

And can you believe it? Not a single Republican had a direct answer for that very simple question!

I sat there stunned, realizing that everything I'd been telling people for the past several weeks had been right-on-target.

I'd been saying that a Republican takeover in the House and Senate was a crucial step toward the destruction of the current two party system. Why? Because the Republicans are most certainly *not* going to cut the size of government. And their failure is going to fuel the rise of a new major party.

Newt Gingrich said it best on November 9th, 1994 — "If this just degenerates . . . back into the usual baloney of politics in Washington, then the American people . . . will move towards a third party in a massive way."

I believe he was predicting the Libertarian future.

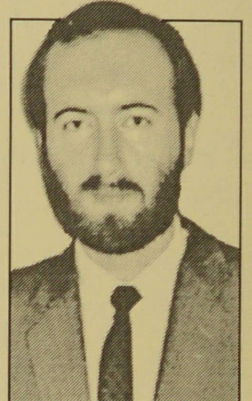
Yes, the Republicans are certain to leave untouched a whole host of wasteful government programs.

Yes, that will provide us a wealth of opportunities to establish ourselves as America's only true government-cutting party.

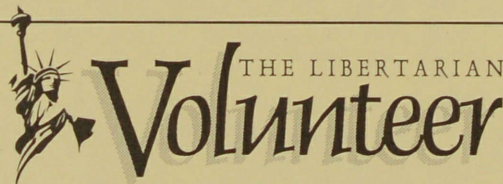
And yes, there is hope that the American people will turn to us, because the true story of the 1994 election, by the media's own account, was its libertarian streak . . .

But the importance of this libertarian trend could still be recognized and seized by others, and perhaps even discredited if mishandled. In the long run, the best way to predict the future is for us to create it through our own efforts.

Now our goal — as 1994 ends and 1995 begins — is to work together to make that Libertarian future happen!



Perry Willis,
National Director



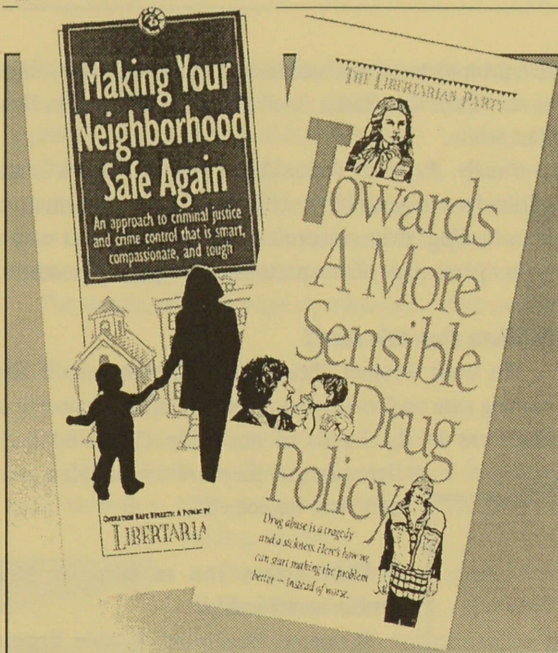
A newsletter for LP volunteers, activists, officers, candidates, & student organizers

Volume 5 ♦ Issue 5 ♦ November/December 1994

The Libertarian Volunteer (formerly *APC News*) is a publication of the Libertarian Party. Our goal is to provide proven advice, timely news, political resources, strategic suggestions, and accurate information for Libertarian volunteers.

Letters, comments, articles, and suggestions are welcome!
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1528 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE ♦ Washington DC 20003
Or call: (202) 543-1988 ♦ Fax: (202) 546-6094
CompuServe: 73163,3063



LP offers two new brochures

New brochures about Operation Safe Streets and Drug Prohibition have been added to the Libertarian Party's arsenal of literature.

The new "Towards A More Sensible Drug Policy" brochure replaces the old "Should We Re-Legalize Drugs?" brochure. The text is identical, but the brochure is redesigned and printed in two colors on better paper.

The new "Making Your Neighborhood Safe Again" brochure contains the highlights of the five-point Libertarian crime control plan, Operation Safe Streets.

To order by credit card, call the Libertarian Party HQ at (202) 543-1988. Brochure price: sample 50¢ or \$5/100. All brochures are in stock and ready to ship.

The HQ also has the new issue #4 of the *Liberty Today* newspaper available for sale (sample \$1 or \$10/100).

Bill of Rights "Sound Bite"

"When they came for the Fourth Amendment, I didn't say anything because I had nothing to hide.

"When they came for the Fifth and Sixth Amendments, I didn't say anything because I had committed no crimes.

"When they came for the Second Amendment, I didn't say anything because I wasn't a gun owner.

"Then they came for the First Amendment, and I couldn't say anything."

Election Scorecard

Libertarian election winners:

- **Jim McClarin**, New Hampshire House of Representatives
- **Maurice Aho**, Mololla City Council, Oregon
- **Dan Gallegos**, Regional Transportation District Board, District N, Colorado
- **David Morris**, Advisory Neighborhood Commission 2F, Washington, DC
- **Daniel Walker**, Ochlockonee Soil & Water Conservation District Board, Florida
- **Steve Ziegler**, Charles County Board of Education, Maryland
- **Dick Bjornseth**, Ochlockonee Soil & Water Conservation District Board, Florida
- **Tom Jamerson**, Chesterfield County Soil & Water Commission, Virginia

Libertarians re-elected:

- **Don Gorman**, New Hampshire House of Representatives
- **Bonnie Flickinger**, Moreno Valley City Council, California
- **Sandy Webb**, Simi Valley City Council, California

Libertarians defeated for re-election:

- **Finlay Rothhaus**, New Hampshire House of Representatives
- **Andy Borsa**, New Hampshire House of Representatives
- **Sandy Harmon**, Tonopah Town Board, Nevada

States the LP won ballot status in:

- Wyoming, South Dakota, Massachusetts, Michigan, & Indiana

States the LP lost ballot status in:

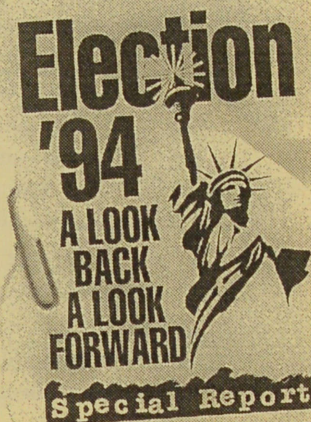
- Utah

Cumulative votes for Libertarian candidates:

- 396,000 votes for Congress
- 648,000 votes for U.S. Senate
- 416,000 for governor

Best performances by LP candidates:

- Best results in major three-way races: Governor, Steve Winter, New Hampshire (4.5%); U.S. Senate, Scott Grainger, Arizona (7%); U.S. Congress, Joseph Jacobs, Jr., Ohio (10%). Highest vote percentage in a partisan statewide race: Sharon Harris, Georgia Agricultural Commission (23%). Largest total vote: John Hawley, Texas Supreme Court (592,199 votes)



Project TimesTwo

► CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

■ What is Project TimesTwo?

It's the most ambitious party building plan in our history. The goal of **Project TimesTwo** is simple: We plan to take our 10,000 National LP members and multiply them times two . . . to 20,000 by the end of 1995.

■ How will Project TimesTwo work?

Every two months (or more often) the National HQ will ship to you a "project in a box" for another major, complete membership recruitment effort.

Just as Project Healthy Choice and Operation Safe Streets turned our candidates into "instant experts" on the issues, **Project TimesTwo** will turn you into an instant membership expert. Even state parties that did zero membership recruitment last year can bloom into membership growth champions.

■ What kind of projects are you talking about?

Several different kinds.

First, we want to take advantage of the prospects that are *already* out there . . . and the opportunities that *already* exist.

For example, there are tens of thousands of lapsed LP members across the country. There are more than 100,000 registered Libertarians. There are thousands of current prospects in the databases of state parties — people who just haven't been convinced that they must join the party.

Project TimesTwo will teach your state party how to reach out to these people. We'll provide you with prototype direct-mail letters to customize and send out by the thousands. We'll explain the "insider" secrets of successful direct mail — which envelopes get opened; which reply cards can boost response rates; which membership offers are irresistible. We'll give you the scoop on effective telemarketing. We want to turn these former LPers, registered LPers, and "almost" LPers into dues-paying members.

Plus, Libertarian recruiting opportunities are out there: Tax Day . . . National Censorship Week . . . Taxpayer's Action Day . . . National Medical Marijuana Day.

Project TimesTwo will inform your state party when and where these events occur. We'll give you detailed instructions on how to take advantage of them. We'll provide camera-ready, targeted materials for each unique audience.

Also, **Project TimesTwo** will provide other innova-

tive projects to recruit members at almost no cost — such as the "Each One Reach One" campaign we used in New Hampshire.

Finally, **Project TimesTwo** will also show state parties how to assemble an effective prospect information kit — "selling" their successes and strengths — that turn a higher percentage of prospects into dues-paying members.

■ When does this start?

We want **Project TimesTwo** to roar out of the starting gate on January 1st, 1996. The first "project in a box" was in the hands of our State Chairs by mid-December, so they had time to plan, prepare, and implement.

■ What makes you so sure we can double membership?

Demographics are on our side. Recent public opinion surveys show an unprecedented market for the Libertarian Party. For example, a new Times/Mirror study claims that 4% of the electorate are now "libertarians." That's 4% of 250 million Americans — or 10 million potential Libertarian Party members!

Plus, we know it can be done because it has been done at the state level. "When I was the Chairman of the LP of New Hampshire in 1992, we had 400 paid-up state party members, in a state with about one million people" said Winter. Multiply that by 250 million people across the country. . . and you get 100,000 LP members.

"Let me repeat that: By just doing the simple, *sustained* membership growth projects that we did in NH, we could have 100,000 LP members!" said Winter. But 100,000 can come later. First, let's double our size to 20,000.

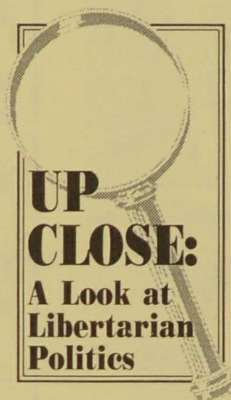
■ If this is so easy, why hasn't it been done before?

First, it's not easy. It's going to require hard work and perseverance.

Second, Libertarians have never made the connection between membership growth and success. The equation is simple: Membership drives success.

Libertarians used to think that getting people elected to office would make us "successful." However, our history is littered with examples of state parties that got people elected, and then collapsed. (Just look at Alaska in the early '80's.) Without a growing membership base, our gains are swept away.

Other Libertarians assumed that getting media coverage would make us successful. But New Hampshire Libertarians received (by one estimate) 10 to 20 times the media coverage in 1993-1994 that they did in 1990-1991 . . . but membership actually declined in 1993. (It had grown steadily during 1990-1991.) And when it came time to



"Project TimesTwo will turn you into an instant membership expert."

defend the gains they had made, New Hampshire Libertarians didn't have the resources. (And two incumbent LP legislators went down to defeat this year.)

Other Libertarians think that increased vote totals ensure success. But the Ed Clark campaign won a million votes in 1980 — and membership remained essentially stagnant for the next 14 years.

The simple, stark message: *Membership* drives success.

■ Why are we doing this now?

Because 1996 is just around the corner.

Traditionally, LP membership has grown in election years and declined in off-election years. It's a frustrating cycle: Growth in 1990. Decline in 1991. Growth in 1992. Decline in 1993.

The result? Every two years, when we need members most . . . for candidates, for campaign volunteers, for financial contributions . . . we have fewer. Our members are the vital *muscle* of the party. And every other year, we allow those muscles to weaken. Instead of charging into elections, we stagger.

We don't want to stagger into 1996. It's time to get off the treadmill, and on the race track! It's time to break our bad habits. If we hope to make any kind of breakthrough in 1996, we have to start preparing right now.

Imagine: For every one LP candidate in 1994 . . . we could have *two* in 1996. For every one dollar our candidates raised in 1994 . . . they could raise *two* in 1996. For every one Libertarian volunteer to collect petitions, or work for campaigns, or help with party business . . . we could have *two* in 1996.

■ Do state parties have to participate?

No. **Project Times|Two** is a voluntary project. But, frankly, we can't image what any state party could do in 1995 that is more important.

■ Can county and local parties participate, too?

Yes — but you will have to request it. The **Project Times|Two** packages will be sent automatically to every state party. If you are the Chair of a county or local party, call, write, fax, or e-mail Bill Winter and asked to be put on the mailing list.

■ Any final comments?

Project Times|Two is our opportunity to learn from our past mistakes. **Project Times|Two** is our opportunity to break our bad habits. **Project Times|Two** is an opportunity to build the size and strength of the Libertarian Party.

Let's work together to build membership in 1995 — so we can concentrate on political success in 1996!

Expert opinions: What the 1994 election meant

WHAT DID ELECTION '94 MEAN?

Listen to the experts on November 9th and everyone agreed: Voters were demanding less government.

Well, *almost* everyone agreed. Not Hillary Rodham Clinton. When asked what the Democratic massacre on November 8th meant, she stammered: "I don't know yet exactly what the message from the voters was."

OK, Hillary is confused. So what else is new? But for most other political observers, the answer was clear: Voters are moving in a *libertarian* direction.

As proof, here is a random cross-section of post-election analysis — of what the election meant, and what might happen next.

"Clinton has misunderstood the message of the election, which is the changing definition in the minds of the voters of the role of government. 56% of the voters think government should do less. What this means is we're seeing a libertarian steak come into the electorate."

—Linda Divall, *Republican Pollster*

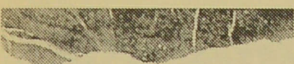
"This election is being interpreted as a move in a Libertarian direction. If you look at what the Republicans say the election means, they are all talking about cutting back the size [and] intrusiveness of government. I mean, I'm highly skeptical that the Republicans will actually do anything to cut back government, but clearly that's what they believe the people wanted."

—Steve Dasbach, *National LP Chair*

"It's difficult for Libertarians not to rejoice in the way that the Democrats were broken and humiliated on November 8th. Their party, and the phosphorescently putrescent garbage that serves it for ideas, have oppressed the legitimate sons and daughters of the American Revolution for longer than most of us have been alive.

"At the same time, especially after the way the Bill of Rights was betrayed by Republicans over the Brady Bill and the Feinstein Amendment, it's impossible not to be

► CONTINUED ON PAGE 11



**"Our members are
the vital muscle of
the party."**



A newly elected Libertarian asks: What next?

Local offices are the way to increase credibility — and future victories

BY
DANIEL
WALKER

Well, the Republicans did it. They swept into legislative power in Washington and many state capitols, talking much of “our” talk. Most of us suspect that in two years, there still will be deficit spending in Washington, the Social Security time bomb might be tinkered with but little else, and government spending at all levels still will be rising.

So what did the Libertarians do?

Well, we kept ballot status in several states. Some of our candidates for major offices were invited to participate in televised debates in several states — a nice development, to be sure. But . . .

We won no U.S. House races. No U.S. Senate races. No governorships. No other state executive offices. Precious few state legislative seats, in large part helped by the quirk of multiple-party listing. Some of our most eloquent spokespersons ran for major offices, not which they could win, but also for which there no reasonable hope of even receiving double-digit vote percentages.

One thing is apparent. Far more Libertarian Party members ran for the U.S. Senate, U.S. House, statewide-office and state legislative seats than for far more winnable seats on county commissions and the thousands of little-

known and far more accessible non-partisan “special district” and “public authority” boards and commissions.

Voters don’t know enough about us to trust us, particularly when we haven’t been willing to do the political “grunt work” of working our way up the political ladder.

I confess: I come as a convert to the “ground-up” approach. Most local politics has bored me. I like the “big” issues. I like discussing the inevitable implosion of Social Security. I enjoy discussing educational freedom and related policies. I enjoy bashing stupid, pork-laden federal and state spending practices. I have enjoyed the effort, the exasperation, and the underdog spirit associated with LP campaigns for “big offices.” Most of us do. However —

It’s time for us to grow up, folks.

Our political party and movement is too old to be

satisfied with vote-percentage “relative” victories and talk of “potential” for some unknown future election.

Most American voters have not had, nor will they have, some “Damascus road” or “a-ha” experience at which the knowledge of all things libertarian will be revealed to them by the spirit of Hayek and Locke. Plus, half of the voters willing to tell pollsters they’re planning to vote for a Libertarian eventually bail out on us in the voting booth (compare poll percentages for Jon Coon, Michigan LP candidate for U.S. Senate and Georgia LP candidate Walker Chandler, for lieutenant governor, with their final vote percentages).

We must grow from the ground up, or not at all.

Last spring, then Florida State Chair Bill Bragg called me. He’d found out about an obscure non-partisan board, a “soil and water conservation district board.” It’s just one of hundreds of “special districts” in Florida with elective boards. Bill decided to run for a seat on the Duval County board, and got a couple of other Libertarians to run for two other seats.

I was intrigued. I found out a similar soil and water board existed in Leon County, where I live. The board existed almost in name only, being apparently dormant in recent years, but nonetheless seats were open on it for the ’94 election.

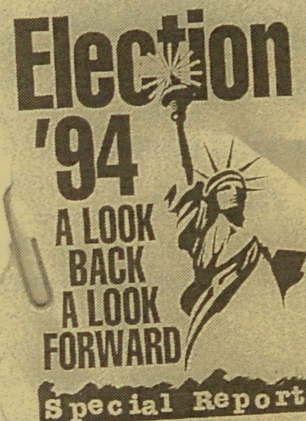
Libertarian Dick Bjornseth and I slipped on to the board *unopposed*. I am an elected Libertarian, albeit in a non-partisan office. My campaign budget was \$0.00.

Our friends over in Duval County weren’t so lucky, where the board has a slightly higher profile. Bragg got 40% in his 2-person race, and the other two registered Libertarians received over 22% each in three and four-person races. They lost in their first campaigns, but they did better than Libertarians in partisan races and gained valuable experience. Bill Bragg now is gearing up for a campaign next spring — for the Jacksonville City Council.

You might ask, “So what, Dan? You’re on a board with little visibility and little function. What’s the big deal?”

Well, I’m a registered Libertarian, a member of the party, and I’m in elective office. That’s good for a start. (Unfortunately, it’s rare.) Now on this board are two registered Democrats, a registered Republican (Eric Rittberg of the Republican Liberty Caucus), and two registered Libertarians.

This one little government entity won’t do any damage. In all probability, sometime in the near future it will be



**“Voters don’t know
enough about us
to trust us.”**

abolished by a 3-2 vote. One unnecessary, duplicative government entity done away with due to a significant Libertarian presence.

And two Libertarians built a political resume with something other than Libertarian organizational posts. Florida Libertarians will be able to point to a case where elected Libertarians actually accomplished something, small though it might be.

Offering my non-partisan "race" as an example, and reflecting upon our joint Libertarian history of electoral failures in seeking too many "big" offices, I offer the following assortment of suggestions and provocations:

1. Far too many Libertarians are running for federal and state legislative (and state executive) offices while opportunities are being ignored to run for scores of more winnable county and non-partisan offices.

2. Recognize that we have to build political resumes for credibility and name recognition. We must run for — perhaps slip in unopposed to — "special district" and "public authority" boards such as soil and water conservation districts, fire control districts, hospital authority boards, etc. Then, after serving a term, run for county office or the state legislature. Voters aren't going to trust us with "big" offices until they've seen us operate in the "little" offices. We, far more than those in major parties, must *earn* what we get in the electoral marketplace.

We have gotten little, to date, because we have earned little.

3. As a general rule, state LPs only should run the minimum number of candidates for statewide office necessary to assure a reasonable chance of obtaining ballot status. Too many candidates for admittedly unwinnable offices drain precious funds, time, energy, and human resources. State parties should endeavor, for general elections, to run only one candidate for high-profile statewide office (e.g., governor or U.S. Senator) and one candidate for a lesser-known, down-ballot statewide office (e.g., Secretary of State, commissioner of agriculture) as a "failsafe"/back-up to ensure ballot status.

4. If running for legislative office at any level, advertise on radio stations with a sympathetic news/talk format.

Whether the nationally syndicated show is hosted by a typical conservative (Limbaugh, Liddy, Hamblin), a populist such as Chuck Harder, or an evangelical Christian such as Marlin Maddou ("Point of View" on the USA Radio Network), many libertarian-oriented perspectives are a good fit: Pro-Second Amendment, "open government," private property rights, pro-home schooling, anti-international government, etc. Where we can meet on common ground with co-belligerents, let's do it.

It's short-sighted and narrow-minded not to do so.

5. Let's consider a cosmetic change — of the party name to the "Liberty Party." We will be Libertarian, we'll define ourselves and our policies as libertarian, but let's roll out a new brand name. Let's replace a brand name and ballot label which, after 20 years, unfortunately is associated with losers from the political fringe.

Protest voters will vote for us regardless of the label. But of the millions of uninformed or misinformed American voters — whose votes count just as much — hundreds of thousands might be more willing to cast a vote for someone from the "Liberty" Party (after all, people know the word liberty) than someone from the "Libertarian" Party ("Is that a kind of liberal?").

Votes are a yardstick we can use, we can measure. The media looks at voter support levels. The more votes our partisan candidates get, the better; we're a political party, after all.

There doesn't seem to be anything in the National party's bylaws which condition a state affiliate's status with keeping the "Libertarian" name. Perhaps a state LP could make an experimental attempt. Perhaps the National party should try to some focus-group tests to assess the marketability of the "Liberty" label.

What now? Change. Adapt. We know the mantra — keep doing what you've been doing, you'll keep getting what you've been getting.

What we've been doing hasn't worked. It's time to try something else.

More focus. More realism. More local, winnable races. Now's the time to start early preparations for 1996.

Catch your breath, then contact the local elections supervisor's office. Find out all offices to be contested in '96 (or '95, if you're in one of the few states with off-year elections). Do some research. Start your information-gathering.

If we begin to position ourselves with local officeholders in 1996, we'll be better positioned to challenge for state legislative seats in '98 and 2000, and higher-profile offices four to eight years later.

Best of luck to us all . . . because if we don't do it, no one will.

DANIEL WALKER is chair of the Leon County Libertarian Party, former Secretary of the Libertarian Party of Georgia Executive Committee, and current member of the Ochlockonee River Soil & Water Conservation District Board of Supervisors. He looks forward to abolishing his office sometime in the following months.



"Florida Libertarians will be able to point to a case where Libertarians accomplished something."

Republican win is a victory for Libertarianism

BY
WALTER
ROLANDI

The significance of November's historic midterm election will be the subject of debate for some time to come. Some will explain the phenomenon in terms of an anti-incumbent sentiment among voters. Others will maintain that the voters were venting rage against the Democratic Party. Many will say the Republican tidal wave signified nothing more than the widespread rejection of President Bill Clinton.

While all of these factors may have contributed to the election outcome, the real cause is actually much more fundamental and much more revolutionary.

The real reason is simple: the average American voter just said "no" to government. Mr. and Mrs. Voter have gone from helpless frustration to defiant reaction. The voters have had more than enough: Enough of out-of-touch politicians; enough of runaway governmental spending; enough of governmental meddling in their everyday lives.

The frustration has been building for some time. It is the result of years of broken promises. It is the result of our government's consistent demonstration of its impotence in the face of the very social problems that it has repeatedly promised to solve.

While it is true that the voters want change, the Republican win cannot be attributed solely to an anti-incumbency movement. Were anti-incumbency the only issue, scores of incumbent Republicans would have been turned out along with their Democratic colleagues. This is simply not the case.

Given the number of Democrats who retained their seats, the win cannot be regarded merely as an anti-Democrat statement either. And his widespread unpopularity notwithstanding, the Republican sweep cannot be laid solely on Bill Clinton's shoulders. It's true that the man is completely out of touch. Politically, he seems somehow developmentally disabled by the Sixties. It is almost as if he is unable to perceive political problems and solutions in terms other than those that were popular during his idealistic youth.

If the Republican victory cannot completely be attributed to these three explanations, why then, did the

Republicans win? The answer lies in the buzz words and sound bites with which the Republicans peppered their Contract and their campaigns. Less government. End to welfare. Balanced budget amendment. Get tough on crime. Lower taxes. More choices. More personal responsibility. More Freedom. The Republicans won because they ran on a libertarian platform.

While skeptics can say that the Republicans merely pushed the political buttons of the day, no one should now doubt that they will make every attempt to earnestly deliver on the promises of their Contract. They have painted themselves into a corner and they know it. They will have only two short years to show substantial change towards less government, less spending, less taxes, and more freedom... or they will go the way of their Democratic colleagues.

The real historical significance of the Republican victory is twofold.

First, it is a testimonial to the proliferation and acceptance of libertarian principles among American voters.

Secondly, it may actually be a signal of the end of two party politics as we have historically known it. Typically, one party's win is just the other party's loss, only until such time as the tide again turns. Power has been passed in ping-pong fashion between the ostensibly different parties who, at least on the basis of their actual actions, have often been difficult to distinguish.

Only this time, things are different. If the Republicans fail, the people will know that the historical embodiments of the two party system have failed. And consequently, they will look to third party alternatives.

While momentous political events can often spring out of nowhere, there is currently only one alternative party out there which is backed by more than frustration and rage. If the Republicans fail to make good on their libertarian promises, it is likely that the ranks of the Libertarian Party will precipitously swell.

Thus, even though Libertarian Party candidates typically garnered less than 10% of the vote, libertarians scored a victory on November 8th just the same.

Given the outcome, libertarians can't lose. Either the Republicans deliver on their little "I" libertarian promises or the Republicans fall victim to the politics of appeasement and gridlock.

In the case of the former, America will evolve to a more libertarian state. In the case of the latter, the Libertarian Party will rise to the occasion as a true alternative.

Whether the Republicans succeed or fail, either way, libertarians will win.

"If the Republicans fail, the people will know that the two party system has failed."

Election '94

**A LOOK BACK
A LOOK FORWARD**

Special Report

Election '94 review

► CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

participate in debates with their "major" party opponents?

Good news . . .

Bad news . . .

Election '94 had everything.

■ **Good news:** NRA endorsements. "For the first time ever nationally, and contrary to previous practice, the NRA officially endorsed Libertarians in the 1994 election . . . and not just a few!" reported NH Libertarian Robert Multer.

"The NRA-ILA [Institute for Legislative Action] overcame its previous doubts about whether our candidates can win, and recommended voting for 37 New Hampshire Libertarians. The NRA recommended that gun-rights supporters vote for these 37 Libertarian State Representative candidates over any Republican or Democrat! No longer is the election of a New Hampshire Libertarian seen as a rare exception," he said.

■ **Bad news:** When voters don't want Coke, they buy Pepsi. In other words, Election '94 proved that when voters are sick of the Democrats, they vote Republican — not Libertarian. They pick a well-known, established brand; they don't take a chance on Brand X.

"It's reasonable that [voters] would now give the Republicans a chance before they would be willing to trust a new party. This is an expected process that we have to go through," said LP National Chair Steve Dasbach.

■ **Good news:** New Hampshire vote totals. LP candidates for State Representative, on average, showed a 28% boost in votes, reported former State Chair Doug Harrigan. "In 1992, the average Libertarian candidate [for state legislator] got 21.5% of the vote needed to win. In 1994, they averaged 27.6%. That's a jump of 28%," said Harrigan.

■ **Bad news:** Lower vote totals (outside of New Hampshire). "While a complete comparison with previous vote totals has not been done, it looks as if we took a small step backwards in average vote totals. The Republican juggernaut shaved a point or two off our totals, as well as devouring the Democrats," said Ron Crickenberger,

Chairman of the National Libertarian Party Campaigns Committee.

■ **Good news:** Debates. Libertarians were invited to participate in an unprecedented number of televised debates with their "major" party opponents.

Libertarian candidates for governor were invited to debates in Arizona, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Wyo-

ming, South Dakota, Oregon, and New York. LP candidates for U.S. Senate participated in Arizona, Michigan, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and Wyoming. Other LP candidates took part in debates in California, Delaware, Georgia, and Wyoming.

"This year, third party . . . candidates for U.S. Senator, Governor, and Congressman-at-Large have been included in televised debates in more states than they have been excluded in. And the general reaction to the inclusive debates has been positive," said Richard Winger, editor of *Ballot Access News*.

■ **Bad news:** Outside New Hampshire, every Libertarian (in a partisan race) who promised that they would win was wrong — especially in House or Senate races.

"Any federal-level Libertarian candidate (running against an incumbent) who raises less than \$250,000 should not have talked about winning — since history shows that 99.35% to 100% of the time they will be wrong" said Bill Winter, LP Director of Communications. "In open races, any Libertarian who doesn't outspend his or her opponent will almost certainly lose. That lesson was hammered home this year."

■ **Good news:** There was clearly an unprecedented "market demand" for libertarian ideas in the election. "We're seeing a libertarian steak come into the electorate," said Republican pollster Linda Divall.

"[We] should put out a press release that says, 'Libertarians declare victory!'" said Tonie Nathan, 1972 LP Vice Presidential candidate.

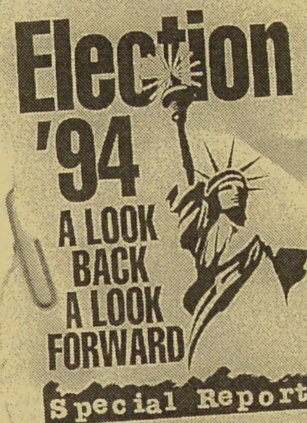
■ **Bad news:** Several highly touted campaign opportunities ended with lower than expected results: Jon Coon for U.S. Senate in Michigan won 4.5% of the vote, and Guy Wilson for U.S. Congress in California (District 37), in a two-way race against an indicted Democrat, won 21.9%.

■ **Good News:** Libertarians have won a "working majority" on an environmental board in Florida. Daniel Walker and Dick Bjornseth were elected to the Ochlockonee Soil & Water Conservation District Board, and were joined by Eric Rittberg, a self-described "free market environmentalist" who is active in the Republican Liberty Caucus.

"With a free market majority on this board, we can help solve natural resource problems guided by the principles of private property rights and an understanding of market processes," said Rittberg.

So — was the glass half full or half empty?

For Libertarians, Election '94 was both.



**"[We] should put
out a press
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'Libertarians
declare victory!'"**

Working the polls: The grass-roots approach in PA

*A Landsdale Libertarian learns a
valuable political lesson on Nov. 8th*

BY
TONY
SHEPPS

I'm sure those around me have heard me tell the story of election day all too often, but they have to grant me a certain level of enthusiasm. Working the polls was a great experience, and one I intend to repeat again and again.

I arrived at my polling place about five minutes late. By that time, the Republicans and Democrats had already set up shop. Like most polling places these days, there were signs for both parties. At the end of the hall at the entrance, both major parties had set up folding tables. The Republican table was on one side, and the Democratic table was on the other. Both parties had what appeared to be official sample ballots to show people how to vote.

There were two volunteers at the Republican table and one at the Democratic table. Not only had they already set up shop, but they had already noted where the magic "line" is; Pennsylvania law says that no campaigning can be done within 10 feet of the entrance of the polling location. They stood within inches of that line.

There was also a [independent candidate for governor] Pat Luksik volunteer present, a lady of at least 70 years of age. I spoke to her briefly; she had never done this sort of thing before. She had been recruited to work for Luksik by people at her church. For some reason, she decided to remain outside the building, which made her the first person that voters would come into contact with. I decided to stand inside, at the end of the hall with the major party representatives.

Like many Libertarians, I've spent a lot of time reading and thinking about political philosophy. I'm prepared to present my views, or defend them if necessary, with arguments from sources like Milton Friedman or the Cato Institute.

But standing at the polls with the Republicans and Democrats does not require this kind of preparation. The folks there are recruits; they're the front-line troops in the battle for the voter's lever-pulling hand. They aren't stationed there to discuss guns, or crime, or the war on

drugs; they're doing their job, representing their party, greeting the people, showing a presence, and asking everyone who arrives at the poll for their vote. They were consistently pleasant, both to the voters and to myself.

To be sure, arriving at the level where we are one of the parties to stand there and ask for votes is an important stage in the development of the Libertarian Party. Sure, we can discuss issues until we're blue in the face; but what is necessary to win elections is the local grass-roots organization and all the hard work behind it.

We've gotten to the level where we can stand at the polls and ask people for their vote. Next, we must get to the level where we can put *more* people at the polls; and then to the level where we know how to do things like arrange for absentee ballots, voter registration, official sample ballots, and the space at one of these tables, dutifully 10 feet away from the actual entrance to the polling location.

At first, standing there handing out literature, I felt like an outsider. Then, at 9 AM, two hours after the opening of the polls, something very interesting happened: the Democrat left! She had only planned to work for two hours. The Luksik volunteer also left at that time.

I pushed some of the Democratic literature out of the way and set up at the Democratic table, and suddenly it was the Republicans and the Libertarians. Even the Republicans were amused at this turn of events: "Well, this is new, a Libertarian at the Democratic table," one of them said.

And it *was* new, and it was important; because suddenly incoming voters were faced with the idea that there were only two legitimate parties in their area, and one of them no longer began with a *D*.

At 3 PM, a Peg Luksik volunteer arrived to work for two hours. This was ridiculous, because that particular time was the slowest time of the day for arriving voters; any lunch crowd had long since left, and the after-work crowd would not show until at least 5:30. They, like us, were

new to this game, and had a lot to learn. Unlike us, unless their candidate decides to run for office again, their organization will fade away and will not have another campaign to put their new knowledge into practice.

I worked until I could stand no longer, which was until about 6:30 PM. I was exhausted and so was my supply of

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literature. But I had lasted almost 12 hours, due to one thing — the constant and very positive feeling that I was doing something important.

No matter who arrived at the polls, whether they took my handout or impolitely walked past, each and every voter that came in had to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Libertarians. This, I thought, would pay off; not in this election, but surely in future elections. Seeing each voter in person reminded me of why professional politicians say that it's important to ask people to vote for you. Next time they hear about the Libertarian Party, this part of Landsdale will remember that someone was actually there at their polling location, simply asking for their vote.

Although 1994 was the year of the Republicans, the year of the Libertarians gets closer for every poll worker, every candidate that runs, and every local organization we develop.

Reprinted
courtesy of
The Torch, the
newsletter of
the Montgomery
County LP
(Pennsylvania)

What the election means

► CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

cynical about the ultimate value of a sweeping GOP victory.

"Over the next two years, before the House of Representatives is up for grabs again, it must be the concentrated and unswerving purpose of Libertarians everywhere to impose and maintain an unrelenting pressure on Republicans to really change things and keep their promises."

—L. Neil Smith

Libertarian Second Amendment Caucus

"If this just degenerates . . . back into the usual baloney of politics in Washington and pettiness in Washington, then the American people . . . will move towards a third party in a massive way." —Newt Gingrich

"A Republican takeover in the House and Senate was a crucial step toward the destruction of the two party system. Why? Because the Republicans are certainly not going to cut the size of government. And their failure is going to fuel the rise of a new major party."

—Perry Willis, LP National Director

"The lesson intended by the electorate was disarmingly simple: Less is more — less welfare, less taxes, and, most of all, less government."

—The Washington Post

"[There is a change] between the character of this election and the last great Republican surge, in the Reagan landslide of 1980. Philosophically, that victory came to be symbolized by the Heritage Foundation, a conservative Washington think tank strong on business and foreign policy. By comparison, the "less government, more freedom" slogans this week echo the libertarian Cato Institute . . ."

—Wall Street Journal

Getting included in public debates: The VA approach

"John Buckley asked that all three candidates be allowed to participate."

How can Libertarian candidates gain entry into debates they've been excluded from?

Virginia Libertarians used a carefully planned combination of assertive public confrontation and reasonableness to gain entry into a debate for the 11th Congressional district in Reston. Democratic incumbent Leslie Byrne and Republican challenger Tom Davis were invited, but the LP candidate, Gordon Cruickshank, was snubbed.

Virginal LP member James Haworth reports:

"A group of us [at the debate site] passed out copies of a nice editorial by the *Fairfax Journal* saying that independents and Libertarians shouldn't be excluded from debates.

"When the Reston Cable cameras started rolling [former LP State Chair] John Buckley interrupted the moderator and asked that all three ballot-qualified candidates be allowed to participate.

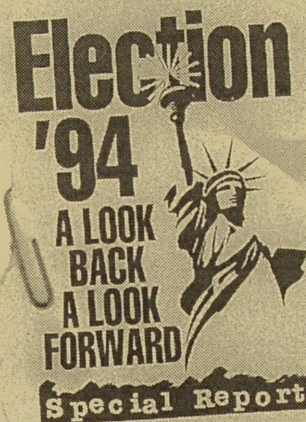
"The moderator responded that it wasn't possible to include him at the last moment. John countered that Gordon had announced his campaign in May and was on the ballot in June. The moderator became very flustered.

"At that point, I stood up on the opposite side of the auditorium and said that, as a voter in the 11th District, I certainly expected to be allowed to hear from any candidate that might represent me in Congress. I then pointed to Byrne and said that I was confident my Congresswoman would support me in this. She nodded her agreement.

"When the moderator said he didn't know what to do, Buckley asked him to see if the other candidate objected. Amazingly, the moderator followed John's suggestion. Both candidates said okay.

"While the cameras were rolling, they brought out a third chair, re-drew for order of responses, and finally started over.

"Cruickshank did a fine job, and gained a lot of support from the audience. Very nice, overall."



Notices

■ **ISIL:** The 1995 International Society for Individual Liberty convention will take place in Athens, Greece, on October 15-20, 1995 (Sunday to Friday.) The price is \$500 (guaranteed through March 21, 1995). For more information, contact Mary Margaret Glennie, 1317 Lakewood Drive, Fort Collins, CO 80521. Telephone: (303) 484-8184. Fax: (303) 224-1993.

■ **Campaign literature:** "Don't throw away your left-over campaign literature!" urges James Haworth. "This year, I've seen some good campaign materials put out by LP candidates — lots of good ideas that most of us can use in our own campaigns." That's why the Virginia Liberty PAC is offering to coordinate a "literature swap" so Libertarians "can take advantage of the good ideas and lessons learned from LP campaigns across the country."

If you would like to participate, send 30 copies of your campaign material (brochure, door hanger, fundraising letter, bumper sticker, button, whatever) and a

check for \$7.50, payable to the Virginia Liberty PAC. "We will mail you a package containing one copy of every piece we receive," said Haworth. "Be sure to include your address and phone number, and feel free to include any thoughts you have on the effectiveness of your materials, what you'll do differently next time, etc."

For more information, call Haworth at (703) 883-7996 (days) or (703) 318-7405 (evenings). Internet: JHaworth@mitre.org. Mail campaign materials and check to: James Haworth, 1547 Malvern Hill Place, Herndon VA 22070-2730.

■ **TV Programming:** Louisiana LP State Chair Wayne Parker is interested in getting copies of any available Libertarian TV programming, for possible broadcast on his local public access station. Do you have a show or infomercial about the Libertarian Party? Contact him at: (504) 261-6043.

■ **FEC:** For LP federal-level candidates (U.S. House or U.S. Senate) wrapping up their campaigns, the Federal Election Commission has available a three-part series on "Candidate Committee Termination and Debt Settlement." For a copy (or to have any questions answered) call (202) 219-3420.

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